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Photograph of the Taj Mahal by E. Warren Clark, c. 1895

Photo courtesy of Joseph Knox

The Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada

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Dissolving Views of the Sky

We have seen a cloud like a vast ribbon, platted of orange and crimson, and purple, stretching at sunset, along the tops of mountains, with an azure plain glittering above it. We have seen the horizon hung in curtains of gold and crimson, while the zenith was changing from colour to colour. Now, why does nature present such scenes? For all the essential purposes of utility, it is only necessary that the sky should, once in every few days, present a murky raincloud to water the earth, and now and then, a thin vapoury one for the morning and evening mists. And why does the rainbow appear, for a moment, beautiful amidst the storm, and then vanish away? Certainly these things are not done to impart and wholesome influence on the air, or fructifying power of the rains. It is to present images of beauty to the eye of man. There is not a moment of the day that the sky is not shifting from scene to scene, and presenting picture after picture of the most exquisite dissolving views.

Review of Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos*,
The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review,
July, 1852, p. 382.

This Spring issue of the *Gazette* features a long article by Richard Candee on a little-known stereopticon lecturer, Rev. E. Warren Clark, who often lectured under the name Prof. Clark. Richard is a retired professional historian, with a special interest in the history of industrial America. He has carefully researched the life and career of E. Warren Clark, using online newspaper databases, as well as manuscript archives and letters, scrapbooks, and photographs obtained from one of Clark's descendents. Clark was clergyman and missionary, but as with many clergymen in the 19th century, the church provided insufficient income to support his family. Clark turned to other endeavors, including given lantern slide lectures of his travels in Asia and elsewhere. Unfortunately, Clark's original lantern slides have not been located and may no longer exist, but Richard has made use of some photographic prints made by Clark, along with some photographs and drawing from photographs in his published books, to recreate something of what his lantern slide lectures would have been like.

Clark also dabbled in real estate investments, and also became a travel agent and guide, personally leading tours to Europe and Japan for rich widows who could afford to spend several months traveling. He even contributed his name to the advertising of a patent medicine that claimed to cure a variety of ills. This sort of commercial exploitation of the names of well-known lecturers was relatively common in the 19th century. Prof. George Reed Cromwell allowed testimonials for St. Jacob's Oil to be published under his name in small-town newspapers. Henry Ward Beecher, a prominent clergyman and one of the most popular orators in the country, allowed both his name and image to be used in advertisements for Pear's Soap.

With his careful research and writing, Richard Candee has brought back to life the career of one of the many lecturers who traveled the country with a stereopticon and slides.

This issue also includes a short Research Page with summaries of an eclectic selection of academic research articles related to the magic lantern, including a new paper on the lantern slide lectures of Jacob Riis and a discussion of the use of lantern slides in publicizing Antarctic exploration. There also are two reviews of papers dealing with spirit photography and the use of double exposures to produce spirit-like images in both lantern slides and early films.

Finally, I have reviewed a spectacular new book that most members of our society will want to own. It is a thick compendium of beautifully reproduced photographic lantern slides of scenes from around the world, spanning roughly the period from 1870 to 1930.

I have a small backlog of articles waiting to be put in future issues, but as always, I am eager to receive both long and short articles on the history and culture of the magic lantern.

Kentwood D. Wells, Editor
451 Middle Turnpike
Storrs, CT 06268
kentwood.wells@uconn.edu
860-429-7458

Lantern slide of spring dogwood blossoms. Wells collection.

E. Warren Clark (1849 –1907): "Noted Traveler and Lecturer on Oriental Topics."

Richard Candee
6 Scituate Road
York ME 03909-5724
rcandee@maine.rr.com

Edward Warren Clark (Fig. 1) was a nineteenth century American educator, journalist, amateur photographer, Episcopalian minister, cultural entrepreneur, and self-promoter with a magic lantern. An evangelical Christian, his life's work began when he was hired by the Japanese government from 1871 to 1875 to teach thousands of young Japanese students the rudiments of modern science. Japan remained at the center of his life and dreams for the next thirty years. Born in 1849 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where his father was the Congregational minister until Edward was five, he and all four surviving brothers eventually entered the ministry too. Surgery from a boyhood accident that severely damaged young Edward's eyes handicapped him "all his life and caused much retardation to an otherwise energetic person."[1]

Fig. 1. E. Warren Clark, studio portrait by "Fritz" of Fremont, Nebraska, c. 1899, courtesy Joseph Knox.

As an 11-year old boy in New York City, he saw the first Japanese Embassy ride up Broadway in a dazzling procession of 7,000 welcoming troops that made a lasting impression on him. Clark graduated from what is now Rutgers University in New Jersey in 1869, with a degree in chemistry and biology. While there, he formed lasting friendships, including with several Japanese students who were sons of prominent Japanese officials. These students and other Japanese visited his family's home in Albany, and several attended his father's Dutch Reform Church there.

After a summer in Switzerland with his father and Rutgers classmate William Elliott Griffis (1842–1928), Clark stayed on to study for the ministry, while Griffis went to Japan to teach. The next year, Clark joined him as one of the first Americans to introduce western science and technology to the Japanese classroom. When he arrived in Yokohama on *S.S. Great Republic* in October 1871, he was welcomed by several Japanese graduates of Rutgers, as well as prominent officials such as Admiral Katsu Kaishu (whose name Clark wrote as Katz Awa). Correspondence between "Clarkie" and "Griff," who later taught at Cornell University as the first American academic Japanologist, as well as the memories of Clark's man-servant Sentaro (whom he called 'Sam Patch'), add perspective and detail to Clark's extensive published work about his own life. [2]

Clark taught first at a large school in Shizuoka (that he spelled Shid-zu-oo-ka), Japan, where he trained students to become science teachers. An occasional journalist, Clark reported his experiences for the Rutgers *Targum*, and served as the Japan correspondent for several religious newspapers, including the *New York Evangelist* and *The Child's Paper*. He also contributed letters about Japan to the New York *Evening Post* and the Albany *Evening Journal*. In 1873, he was transferred to the Imperial University (later Tokyo University) to help found a chemistry department. There he joined Griffis, who wrote his own magnum opus, *The Mikado's Empire* (1876), in Clark's Tokyo home (Fig. 2). Finding a country just barely out of its feudal past (which Clark called "Tycoonism"), their work was underpinned by a belief that Japan's modernization could occur only with the widespread adoption of Christianity. [3]

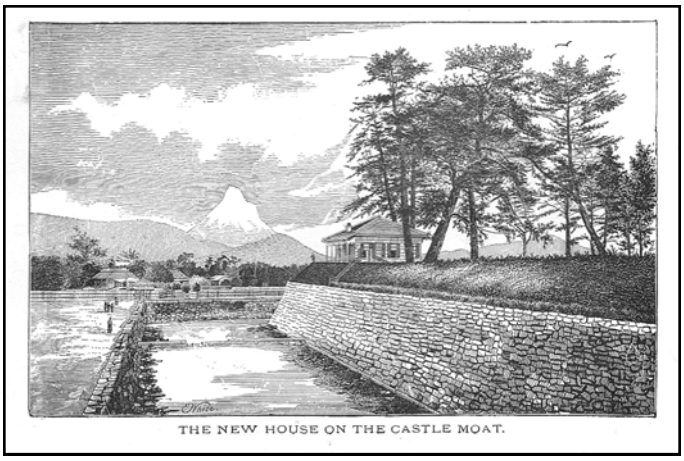


Fig. 2. Clark and Griffis's home at Tokyo, after his own photograph from *Life and Adventures in Japan* (1878), p. 1.

Clark wrote home on March 13, 1872:

> By this mail I send to Mr. McAllister in Philadelphia for a grand "Magnesium Stereopticon" with numerous costly picture-slides, which I intend as a personal gift for the benefit of this province. Pictures speak all languages and this mode of instruction seems to me eminently adapted to the capacities of this strange (yet knowledge seeking) community. I shall engage a large and spacious heathen temple near by, and shall cause the idols to give place to magnesium lights, and to the beautiful picture stories which they will tell.[4]

He received his stereopticon from the firm of William Y. McAllister, and a year later reported he had already "given my first exhibition of the Stereopticon" to a pleased and amused Japanese audience of his students.[5] When English-language newspapers in Yokohama advertised a magnesium stereopticon performance in August 1873, Clark undoubtedly was the "gentleman [who] explained the various views on the screen." While initially "willing to give it gratuitously," he was convinced to charge "for the Benefit of the American Mission Home" run by Mrs. Mary Putnam Pruyn (1820-1885), a member of his father's Albany Dutch Reform Church.[6]

Transferred to Tokyo, Clark "gave some brilliant exhibitions of pictures at the Naval College for Mr. Katz, the minister of the Navy, and afterwards at the Kaisei Gakko" or Imperial University that "were attended by hundreds of officials and students, who of course were wonderfully pleased with the splendid stereopticon pictures of Europe and America" that he had purchased from McAllister. "Soon the fame of the stereopticon reached the palace, just as I intended it should!"[7]

On April 7, 1874, Clark gave "an exhibition of brilliantly illuminated pictures of foreign lands. . . at the Mikado's Palace."[8] Nervous that he might bore them, he removed thirty or forty slides," but began with dissolving views of British landmarks, followed by American natural and man-made monuments. "After this the magnesium stereopticon was started and the magnificent views of Paris, Berlin, Switzerland, and Northern Italy were presented." The Mikado asked questions, and after the hundred "scenes of America and America" were shown, "interspersed with curious revolving chromatropes and an ocean scene… a few comic figures were introduced." Even after an hour and twenty minutes his royal audience was pleased, "yet the court wished it to continue longer."[9]

As a scientist and explainer of western technology, Clark also took and developed his own photographs of Japan (Fig. 3), and on his return to the United States in 1875, he continued to accumulate photographic views of China, India, and Palestine (Fig. 4). These images formed his new collection of "Stereopticon Views" for illustrated lectures on the Orient delivered over the over the next 25 years. While a handful of his prints survive in the family, and he published a few others in 1904, none of his glass slides are known to survive. Nearly 60 of his original photographs were used to draw the illustrations for his two adventure books that followed his return home.

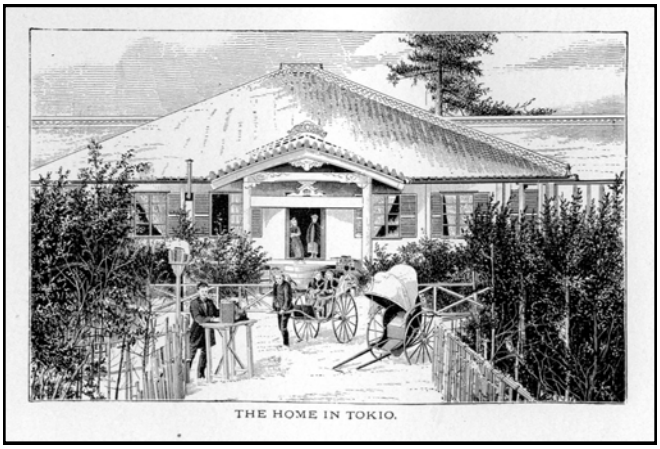


Fig. 3. "The photographic camera seen on the table at the left was the one employed in taking some of the pictures of this book." E. W. Clark, *Life and Adventures in Japan* (1878) p. 162.

Lectures and Learning

Clark arrived in Quebec in October 1875 and then returned through his native Portsmouth to Boston and from there traveled west to his family in Albany. Moving to New York City for study, he combined many of his serially published newspaper stories with illustrations made from his

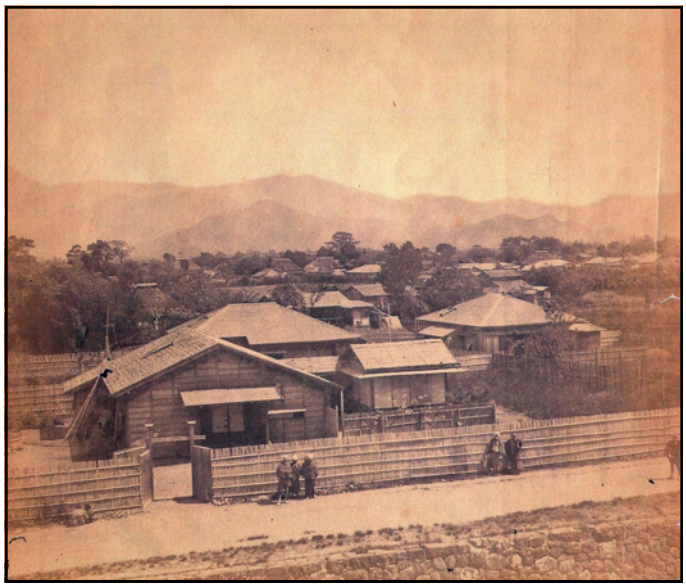
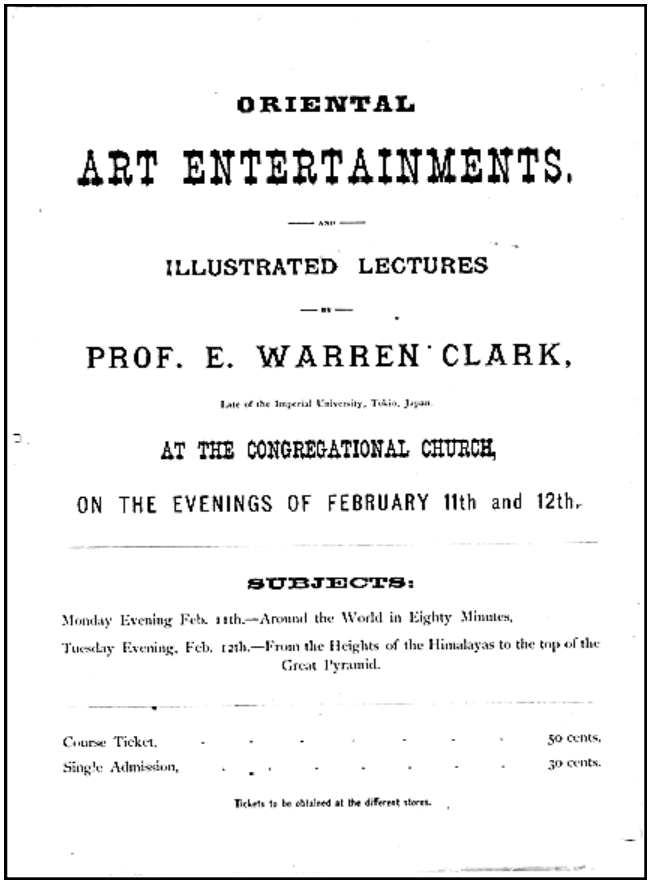


Fig. 4. E. Warren Clark photograph of a Japanese village, courtesy of Joseph Knox.

photographs into a highly informative young people's book, *Life and Adventure in Japan*, published by the American Tract Society as part of its "Missionary Library" in October 1878 and in England in 1879. A second volume from the same publisher following his exotic trip home *From Hong-Kong to the Himalayas: or, Three Thousand Miles Through India,* appeared in 1880.

Capturing the widespread interest in all things Japanese, Clark developed multiple illustrated lectures. He gave these visual travelogues in and around New York between 1876 and 1878 while studying for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary. The earliest was his April 1876 performance on "The History of Tycoonism in Japan," for the Long Island Historical Society in Brooklyn, New York.[10] The next February, he presented "Around the World in Eighty Minutes" at the "Church Edifice" in Brooklyn Heights. It was advertised as "brilliantly illustrated by Stereopticon Views, prepared expressly for the occasion." The single ticket at 50¢ was for the "Benefit of the Temperance Union of Christian Women." Two weeks later, he offered the same program at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York City.[11]

These single talks were soon followed by a "course" of multiple lantern lectures that he could show on successive evenings, or once weekly. In April 1877, he advertised that "100 Stereopticon Views Will Be Shown" in two performances at the Church of the Holy Trinity: "A Trip to the Holy Land" on April 17 and "Travels Through India, the Tropics, and the Far East" on April 24.[12] In November 1877, he added "Journeyings Through Japan" to his series, and the review said a "large audience greeted Professor E. Warren



ORIENTAL

ART ENTERTAINMENTS.

— AND —

ILLUSTRATED LECTURES

— BY —

PROF. E. WARREN CLARK,

Late of the Imperial University, Tokio, Japan.

AT THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

ON THE EVENINGS OF FEBRUARY 11th and 12th.

SUBJECTS:

Monday Evening Feb. 11th.—Around the World in Eighty Minutes.

Tuesday Evening, Feb. 12th.—From the Heights of the Himalayas to the top of the Great Pyramid.

Course Ticket, ... 50 cents.

Single Admission, ... 30 cents.

Tickets to be obtained at the different stores.

Fig. 5. Advertising handbill for "Oriental Art Entertainments and Illustrated Lectures by Prof. E. Warren Clark" at the Montclair, N. J. Congregational Church Feb. 11-12, 1878.

Clark, who last eve delivered a lecture at the Central Baptist Church" in New York. This "was illustrated by views of the country, its inhabitants and their costumes &c, which were thrown on a canvas screen by means of a magic lantern."[13] The next month, in his father's hometown of Albany, New York, an expanded series of "Oriental Art Entertainments" all "Illustrated by several hundred Stereopticon Views, prepared from original negatives by Prof. E. Warren Clark," was offered at $1.00 for all four evenings.[14] These included: Dec. 11, Around the World in 80 Minutes; Dec. 12, From the Heights of the Himalayas to the Top of the Great Pyramid; Dec. 18, Rise and Fall of Tycoonism in Japan; Dec. 19, Jerusalem, Jericho and Jordan.

The two lectures on India and Japan were repeated at Princeton, Newark, and Montclair, New Jersey, early in the next year. In one advertisement, Andrew Guyot, Princeton's first professor of geology and geography, said "I have never seen stereopticon views more perfect and better managed. While the unusual size of the pictures greatly increases their impres-

siveness, the explanations of the Professor –speaking in fluent and enthusiastic language – as an eye-witness of the scenes presented, give to the beholder a vivid sense of their reality." A unique handbill for the same lectures at the Montclair Congregational Church in February 1878 (Fig. 5) shows his method:

> Prof. CLARK conducts his audience like a pleasure party of Tourists, through the Oriental Lands in which he has personally travelled and will present to them the wonderful scenery, architecture, and Oriental characteristics of the Far East.
>
> After crossing the continent, the audience will embark upon one of the magnificent steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.
>
> A Tour will be made through Japan, China, Siam, and the Maylay Peninsula and then the Indian Ocean and Red Sea will be passed and a trip taken up the Nile River in Egypt.
>
> A rapid run through Europe and a stormy sea voyage on the Atlantic, will end the journey at New York, where a special 9:20 P.M. train will convey the audience across the Jersey flats to the height of Monclair.

Given Clark's interest in the entertainment value of practical science, it is not totally surprising that after this first lecture the flyer adds: "After the Journey Around the World THE 'BELL TELEPHONE' will be exhibited and explained."[15]

He offered more lantern lectures in Philadelphia during his theological studies at the Episcopal Divinity School. In March 1878, he gave "Journeyings Through Japan" and "Rise and Fall of Tycoonism in Japan."[16] The next month, the newspaper noted that "Professor E. Warren Clark of Japan" would present "a series of four noonday lectures at Association Hall," They were now listed as "Japan and the Japanese" (Fig. 6), "A Tour Through India" (Fig. 7), "Egypt and the Holy Land," and "Pagan Religions and Christian Missions." The newspaper further stated that "Those who have heard these lectures are unanimous in their expressions as to the absorbing interest in them. Professor Clark illustrates the wonders about which tells with hundreds of magnificent views, which have no duplicates in existence." [17]

Ministry and Marriage

On his thirtieth birthday, January 27, 1879, in West Philadelphia, Clark inscribed a copy of his Japan book to his "friend" Louise McCulloch, a girl whom he apparently loved.[18] Licensed to preach that year, Clark served the Church of the Ascension in her hometown, Steven's Point, Wisconsin, that summer. He married Louise there in September. She was the daughter of a successful local businessman and banker, H. D. McCulloch. A week later, the couple spent a most unusual honeymoon in Detroit, Michigan, where his brother Rufus was rector St. Paul's Episcopal Church. On four successive nights Clark, "Late of the Imperial University, Tokio, and four years resident of Asiatic countries" filled Detroit's Whitney's Opera House. The newspaper noted, "Prof. E. Warren Clark gave another of his lectures on Oriental travel at Whitney's House last night and rendered it charmingly instructive with the aid of illustrations, which he handled in a remarkably skillful manner."[19]

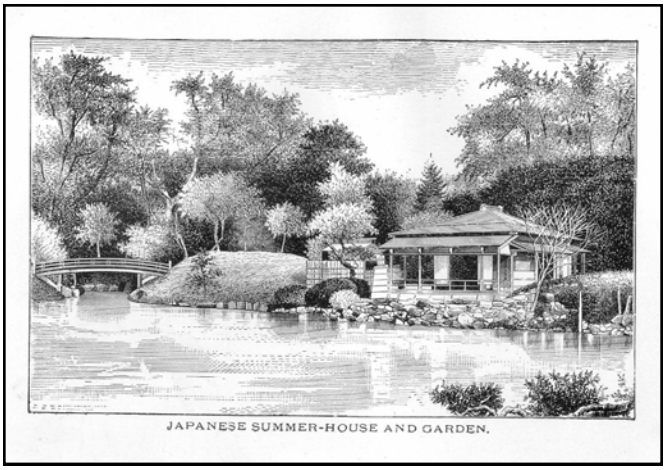


Fig. 6. Japanese Summer House and Garden, from Clark's photograph in *Life & Adventure*s, p. 244. Such images were undoubtedly among his lantern slides.

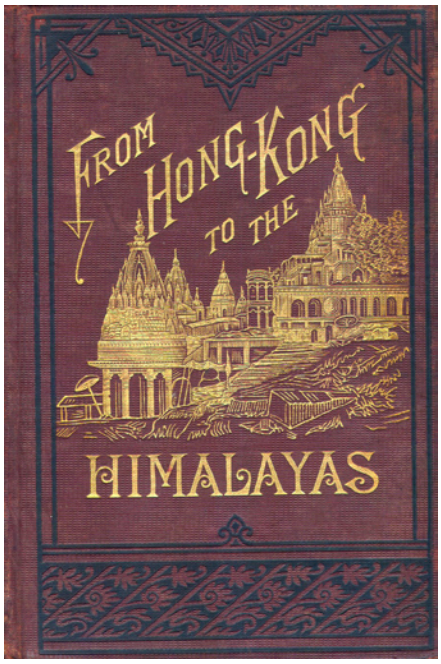


Fig. 7. Cover of *From Hong Kong to the Himilayas* (1880), based on Clark's photograph of The Temples at Benares, India.

So popular was this series that Clark appeared again in Detroit that November, and we get the first extended information about his performances:

> At the Fort Street Presbyterian Church last evening Prof. E. Warren Clark, a traveler of great experience, who is well and favorably known in this city, delivered to a large and appreciative audience a lecture on the "Rise and Fall of Tycoonism in Japan." The romantic history of this feudal form of government in that strange country was faithfully and succinctly outlined, and the Professor's long residence in the land of the Mikado enabled him to embellish his lecture with many personal reminiscences of the last of the race of tycoons with whom he was intimately acquainted.. . . . Prof. Clark is an entertaining lecturer and his subjects are always delightful.[20]

Of technical interest is the record that his "illustrations are on a colossal scale."[21] A dozen years later, a newspaperman reported, "The mammoth screen used by Prof. Clark is thirty feet square" and may have required the four stereopticons he brought with him.[22] When he offered "a course of illustrated lectures on the Orient, at the Second Presbyterian Church" in Chicago in December 1879, a reviewer noted, "Mr. Clark uses a calcium light" [i.e. limelight] "and his views of the Nile and the ancient ruins and pyramids were very beautiful and instructive. Professor Clark has a pleasing manner and his lecture was well received by quite a large audience."[23] Near the end of his life, Clark claimed to have given over 300 lectures "to large audiences in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Detroit, Albany and other cities," just as he had done in Tokyo "before the Emperor of Japan." Indeed, an 1891 story in the *Atlanta Constitution* noted that "his New York and Philadelphia audiences frequently numbered 3,000 people."[24]

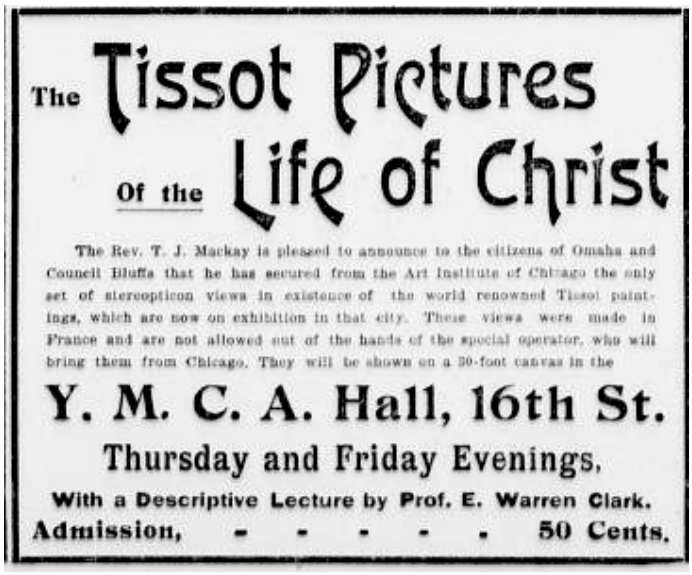
In January 1880 Clark was ordained an Episcopalian priest by his uncle, Bishop Clark of Rhode Island. He was appointed assistant minister at the Church of the Epiphany in Philadelphia in 1880-1881, and for two years was Rector of St. Peter's Church by the Sea in Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island. In 1883, he was sent as a winter rector to Tallahassee, Florida, where his father-in-law bought a 900-acre plantation along the southwest shore of Lake Jackson, some eight miles north of the city. He quickly sold the plantation to 'Professor Clark,' as he was always called, and a partner from Philadelphia. Clark renamed it "Shid-zu-oo-ka" after the town in Japan where he first taught. Promoting the Tallahassee area as a resort by 1885, Clark wintered there for his health. During the 1890s, he transformed the plantation into an unsuccessful dairy farm, experimented with reform housing for his African-American tenants, and later opened it as a game preserve.[25]

Meanwhile, in summers he served churches in Philadelphia and Alabama. This pattern of temporary replacement service developed into a regular practice. From 1884 to 1900, the Clarks lived in Nashville, Tennessee, and in 1888, he served a nearby church at Columbia, Tennessee, where he organized the local Chautauqua that gave him another outlet for magic lantern performances.

He soon began dabbling in real estate. After serving a church in San Antonio, Texas, for six months during 1891, he "pulled out and went to Fort Worth – where," he said, "I have as large an interest at 'Arlington Heights' as I have in Florida." This area was a huge real estate development outside of Fort Worth, planned by a rich acquaintance, H. B. Chamberlin of Denver. "On my arrival home from Texas," he wrote his friend Griff, "my Wife presented me (as she usually does after my long absences of a half year or more) with a BOUNCING BOY! . . . I have now FOUR BOYS (Girls don't count you know!)"[26]

That year, his family moved to Rockford, Illinois, northwest of Chicago, where "his uncle, the Rev. J. E. Walton, was for years pastor of the Congregational church," and where his in-laws soon retired. The McCulloch's had joined them for several weeks in 1891 before going on to Florida. Clark's growing populist radicalization during the economic chaos of 1890s likely bothered his father-in-law, H. D. McCulloch, whose quarter million dollars from selling his Wisconsin businesses were quickly depleted through bad investments after he joined his three children in Rockford. In August 1891, Clark once again went south and gave "From the Heights of the Himalayas to the Great Pyramids" with "superb stereopticon views . . . one of the finest lectures … ever…delivered at Chautauqua" in White Springs, Georgia.[27]

Like many clergyman exhibitors, he mixed religion into his secular performances. His December 1879 Chicago lectures "concluded with dissolving views of "Rock of Ages," the "First Easter Dawn," and the "Angel of the Resurrection."[28] Twenty years later, in 1899, while performing in Omaha, Nebraska, a local minister acquired "the only set of stereopticon views in existence of the world renown Tissot paintings," 350 watercolors depicting "The Life of Christ."[29] On three successive nights lantern slides of the paintings by James Tissot (1835-1902) were offered at the Y.M.C.A. Hall with "a Descriptive Lecture by Prof. E. Warren Clark" (Fig. 8). A review noted he had "a fair audience" and that after "giving a panoramic view of Jerusalem as it was supposed to be in the days of its glory, followed by another of the city in decay, and a third showing it as it stands today, he took up the life of Christ as told in the scriptures." A reporter described the Tissot pictures shown and the "feeling of almost supreme reverence on the part of the spectator as the pictures are moved upon the canvas. An impression irresistibly forces itself upon one that for the moment time has turned back through the centuries to the period of the world's greatest tragedy. No sound broke the silence save the voice of the lecturer – applause would have



The Tissot Pictures
Of the Life of Christ

The Rev. T. J. Mackay is pleased to announce to the citizens of Omaha and Council Bluffs that he has secured from the Art Institute of Chicago the only set of stereopticon views in existence of the world renowned Tissot paintings, which are now on exhibition in that city. These views were made in France and are not allowed out of the hands of the special operator, who will bring them from Chicago. They will be shown on a 30-foot canvas in the

Y. M. C. A. Hall, 16th St.

Thursday and Friday Evenings,

With a Descriptive Lecture by Prof. E. Warren Clark.

Admission, - - - - - 50 Cents.

Fig. 8. Tissot Pictures advertisement. *Omaha Daily Bee*, March 15, 1899, p. 2, mentioning a descriptive lecture by Prof. E Warren Clark.

Fig. 9. James Tissot watercolor "The Adoration of the Shepherds."

been profanation" (Fig. 9). Clark turned up again with this same set of slides for a program on "Christmas at Bethlehem," which he offered to the residents of Tallahassee in December 1900, combining the stereopticon with "Moving Pictures" to tell the Christmas story.[30]

For the March 1892 "Florida Day" at the White Spring's Chautauqua he brought "Professor Elliott, his assistant at Belmont College, Nashville," together with "four stereopticons and a splendid collection of views on the Ponce de Leon, the Alhambra of Spain, and the Tajmahal of India." This marks the first performance of a series of new lectures Clark created during the 1890s to supplement and eventually replace his old talks. "Three Types of Moorish Architecture" was "illustrated with 100 magnificent views. . . specially prepared for the Ponce de Leon, where Professor Clark will deliver it at St. Augustine next week." This was seen as particularly appropriate to Florida hotels "as the floral state possesses the noblest Moorish art in this continent"[31] (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10. Ponce de León Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida, built for Henry M. Flagler in the Moorish-influenced Spanish Renaissance style by the New York architects John Carrère and Thomas Hastings.

Back in Rockford, Illinois, that summer, he was talked into mounting a new series for the benefit of the Boys' Friendly Society of the Emmanuel Episcopal Church. In July 1892, under the title "A Brilliant Man and Rich Subject," a local newspaper noted that Prof. E. Warren Clark had "a world wide reputation as a scholar and traveler" and would soon "Deliver his Famous Lecture Here." One, it said, "has made him famous": "Three types of Moorish Architecture." This included the historic style's "connecting link with the Old and New World –The Story of Columbus and Sad Career of Ponce De Leon, who sought in vain the Fountain of Youth and Gave Fame to Florida, the Land of Flowers."[32]

This summer series began with "The Court of the Mikado" (Fig. 11), in the opera house and attracted "a very large audience," despite the "uncomfortable, almost unbearable warmth of the atmosphere." One reviewer noted that "A stereopticon lecture, be it of scenes of interest, well described, is always pleasing and such are those given by Prof. Clark, being treats in every respect. The gentleman took as his subject last evening the 'Court of the Mikado, or Four Years in Japan.' Prof. Clark's tales of this wonderful coun-

BEGINNING TUESDAY NIGHT
July 19
—AT THE—
OPERA HOUSE
First Night,
The Court
OF THE
Mikado.
—OR—
FOUR YEARS IN JAPAN.
An Illuminated Tour Through the Flowery Kingdom.
CONDUCTED BY
Prof. E. Warren Clark,
The Great Oriental Traveler.
Shown upon a new mammomth screen 30 feet square.
More enjoyable than a concert.
More entertaining than a play.
More charming than an opera.
Tickets for the Course, Including Reserved Seats. $1.00
Reserved seats for the course may be secured at the ticket office, opera house, Monday, July 18. Office opens 9 a. m.
Sale of reserved seats for single lectures begins on Tuesday morning, July 19.

Fig. 11. Advertisement for Prof. E. Warren Clark's stereoption lecture on "The Court of the Mikado," Rockford, Illinois *Morning Star,* July 18, 1892.

try are made interesting by the fact that he was long connected with the Imperial university at Tokio. . . . The views are shown upon a mammoth screen thirty feet square, illustrating many phases of the social and domestic life of the people. Brief incidents in connection with his residence there made up much of the pleasure of the evening. Many of the views presented were the same Prof. Clark exhibited before the imperial household, where he caught his first glimpse of the Mikado and empress by the aid of the light of the stereopticon. . . . Among the many interesting pictures presented were 'Journey on the Tokaido,' 'Nagas[a]ki,' 'Kobe,' 'Inland Sea,' 'The Mikado and his Court,' 'Tomb of the Tycoon,' and several of the schools," all subjects of his 1878 book.[33]

This was followed the next evening by his old "Three Thousand Miles Through India," while the third night his revised Holy Lands talk, "The Land of the Pharaohs and the Land of Promise." These lectures all built up to his most "famous" talk on Moorish Architecture, divided into "three types: the Taj Mahal of Asia **(see front cover)**; the Alhambra of Europe; and the Ponce de Leon of America." last, built in St. Augustine, Florida, by Standard Oil billionaire Henry M. Flagler in 1888, was a Spanish Renaissance design by New York architects Carrere and Hastings. "These entertainments are of a class in every way superior to anything of the kind ever before presented in the city. They crystallize, so to speak, the results of forty thousand miles of travel, and four years' of residence in the far east. They represent what a polished scholar, an enthusiast and acute observer sees and hears when he is abroad and in climes visited by few Americans. Taken together, his lectures were "the most popular and successful of the season."[34]

The "General" at the Columbian World's Fair and Clark's Tours

Early in 1892, Clark entered a new phase of his showmanship. He discovered a group of early locomotives, condemned and retired from service, sitting on a siding in Vining, Georgia. One of them was the "General," a locomotive made famous by the 1862 Andrews Raid and the 90-mile "Great Locomotive Chase" of the Civil War. Clark took photographs and talked the railway president into moving it to a shop in West Nashville, near Clark's home in Columbia, Tennessee, where he had it totally restored[35] (Fig. 12).

Clark arrived in Atlanta in January 1893 with "specimen views, illustrating his three admirable lectures on Japan," his journey through India, and a new one "South at the World's Fair." "Several of his views illustrating the latter subject, have not as yet been developed. When he gets them complete he will then be ready to show the exact status of the South at Chicago." For that lecture, "he also gave several views of the Western and Atlantic railroad, including the celebrated engine, 'General,' which took such an important part in the

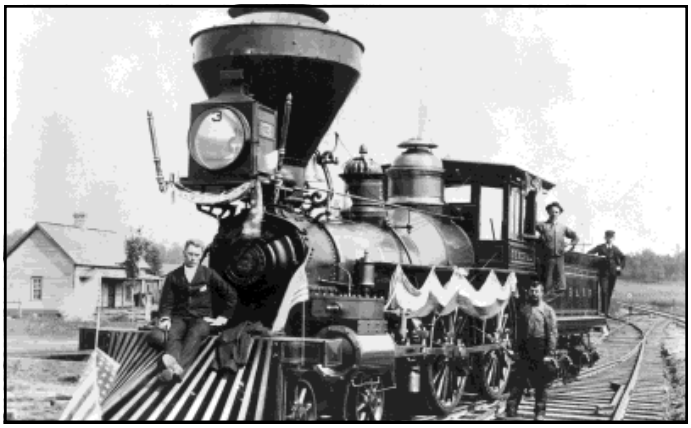


Fig. 12. E. Warren Clark on the cow catcher of the restored locomotive "General" at Chickamauga, Georgia in Sept. 1892.

famous Andrews raid during the war. The 'General' will be one of the exhibits at the world's fair."[36]

To earn a living for his growing family, Clark not only preached, lectured, and wrote, but he also began to organize tours to various World's Fairs, the South, the Holy Lands, and finally trips to Japan and around the world. In 1891, he began to seriously dream about a return to Japan by leading a group tour of a dozen people who could cover all his travel expenses. "While 'developing' in the Photo Dark-room the other day," he wrote Griff "the idea struck me that the way to "Work my Passage" to Japan, was to originate "Clark's Oriental Tours" (!) . . . similar to Cook's European Tours, only not so extensive." Such a "trip would include Yellowstone National Park, the Columbia River, Mt. Hood, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, and Puget Sound, and we would sail on the British Steamers from Victoria and Vancouver to Japan, making the passage in half the time that we used to. I would plan the tip so as to reach Japan in October. The excursions there would include Nikko, Hakone, Kioto, the Inland Sea, and Nagasaki." [37]

In 1894 Clark got a new passport; it shows the clergyman as 45 years old, 5 foot 8 inches high, with blue eyes, auburn hair, and a round face, high forehead and straight nose (Fig. 1). As he wrote to his friend Griff in June, "It looks just now as though I would see Dai Nippon again next Fall–about 24 years from the time we first went there. … Wish you would renew your youth by taking the "Round-the-World" trip with me." [38]

When he, a Rockford widow, and seven "eastern people" (or as he told Griff "six rich widows") left Chicago for Hawaii, the Philippines, and Japan, his hometown paper said, "it would be difficult to find a better guide through Japan than Prof. Clark, as he was in the Mikado's service for four years, and has traversed the empire . . . , being better acquainted than many of us are with the United States." It also noted that he had "a new panoramic camera just completed by a Milwaukee firm, which is far superior to any other camera in existence. He is an expert artist and will be the first to use the new machine in foreign lands." [39]

In February 1895 the *Times of India*, the English newspaper in Bombay, noted that the group had traveled through South China (Fig. 13), Singapore, Ceylon, and India (Fig. 14), and had just departed on the Steamship *Thames* for London, where they would stop before sailing home. Clark sent the newspaper "a photograph of the party en tour through India, two elephants furnishing the mode of transport"[40]

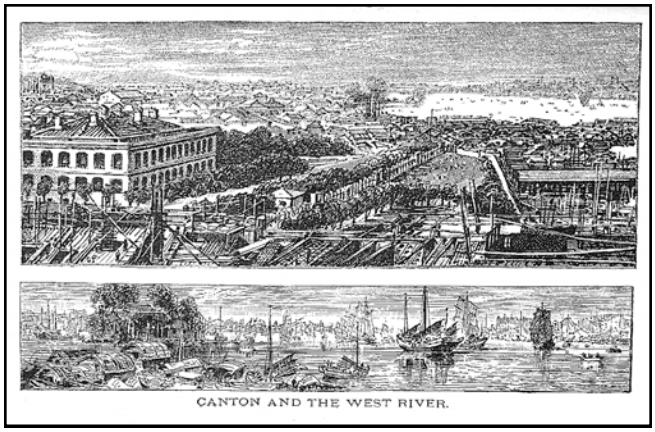


Fig. 13. Canton and the West River, *From Hong Kong to the Himalayas*, p. 23.

By the time he returned to Chicago on April 27, Clark had completed his second round-the-world voyage of his life and had already developed "20 Negatives" for a new book he planned. As he wrote his friend Griffis, "Six months is a long, long time to be absent from home. But what a 6 months it has been. The first trip around the world could hardly compare with it."[41] Indeed, he spent the next month at home "busy developing negatives" in the darkroom.[42]

Another tour, "under the personal escort of Professor E. Warren Clark," was advertised the next year by F. C. Clark Tours in a "pamphlet descriptive of the trip" that was "beautifully illustrated with scenes from all over the world." It followed the same itinerary: "The party will leave New York Oct. 2d, and will visit San Francisco, Honolulu, Japan, China, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Paris, Southampton and London. The cost of the six months trip is $2000." On November 10, 1895, "the renowned Rockford globe trotter" suffered a fall while on the steamer *China* that left his arm disabled for three weeks. He was home by early June 1896, when he avoided being injured by a stone whizzing through his windshield on his way home from Chicago, just in time for the local rich widow on the 1894 tour to sue him for $300.[43]

Fig. 14. E. Warren Clark, 9.5" x 21" photographic print of Lucknow, India, c. 1894-95. Photograph courtesy of Joseph Knox.

As he revisited the country of his youthful evangelism with his tours, he met with an honored western-leaning Japanese friend, minister of the Japanese navy in the 1870s, whom he called Katz Awa [now Katsu Kaishu (1823-1899)]. When he returned to the U.S. with the man's brief autobiographical memoir, Clark tried to interest Harper Brothers in publishing the translation, but they felt it was too short for a full book.[44] The next summer, a Rockford newspaper reported "the noted globe trotter," planned to "escort another party of sight seers around the world, leaving Chicago Oct. 5, going westward. The party leaves San Francisco Oct. 17 and under personal escort of Prof. Clark will visit Honolulu, Japan, China, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Paris, London, and Southampton and will remain away about six months." [45]

Apparently, this third world tour (his fourth) never happened, for on December 2, 1896 the *Tampa Tribune* noted Clark had left for Rockford after arranging railroad and hotel accommodations for an Illinois group of 30 that he planned to bring south in January. A newspaper described a 4-page "voluminous folder descriptive of a trip through the resorts of the southern states" that he "illustrated with 100 handsome half tone cuts." Indeed, in January 1897, he published a 26-page advertisement: *Your Choice of Trips for 1897, Clark's Winter Tours to Florida* **(see back cover)**. This included "points of great interest, particularly in the Florida resorts, De Leon Springs, St. Augustine, Palm Beach, and many others," as well as a projected spring trip to Japan and a "Round the World" voyage in October —for which he used his own children as advertising models[46] (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Advertising photograph for Clark's Round the World Tours showing his own children: Edith (age 16), Henry M. (age 9, who died Jan. 1898), Robert E. (age 7) and Lucius L. (age 5), surrounded by patriotic emblems from E. Warren Clark, *Your Choice of Trips for 1897*, p. 1. Wisconsin Historical Society, Pam 58-520.

Travel and Tragedy

Meanwhile, the Clark family's home life was devastated in January 1898 by the drowning of their 11-year-old son, Henry, while skating on the frigid Rock River north of their home. Even a year later, he described the loss as a "lightning flash of overwhelming grief." That summer, to recover from the loss, he spent two months in the Bible Institute (Evangelic) in Chicago, which he described as a "wonderful (spiritual) institution." That summer, Clark successfully underwent major surgery at the Lakeside Hospital in Chicago that matched his emotional pain with great physical suffering.[47]

Recovering from his traumas, Clark announced "two series of lectures for the season of 1899. The first of these includes talks on the new Pacific possessions of the United States, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii, as well as a description of all three trips around the world." Images captured on his Pacific travel earlier in the decade had been recycled in support of the Spanish American War and the country's new possessions. His second "course" was "a series of illustrated sermons. . . embellished by stereopticon views taken by Prof. Clark during his trips around the world." [48]

The first record of the new series was in Omaha, Nebraska, in March 1899: "Through peaceful groves of whispering palm in Hawaii and amid the tumultuous booming of Dewey's guns at Manila, Prof. E. Warren Clark led an intensely interested audience last night on a tour through our newly acquired possessions in the Pacific. From the land of Ohea apples and papaia fruit the lecturer led them to that place of all absorbing interest, the home of the Philipino, where, by means of pictorial illustrations, the speaker contrasted the simple arrow and spear of the native with the machine guns and death-dealing inventions of their western visitors and at this point expressed his marked disapproval of the gunpowder policy of the government with a people who, he said, are more in need of missionaries than of bullets. His illustrations and verbal descriptions of the jungles and almost inaccessible interior were anything but encouraging to the advocates of expansion. The lecturer, however, discovered much that is good in both country and people and justifies expectations that time and judicious colonizing will develop a respectable contingent of American citizens." [49]

As he increasingly spent so much time away from home, Louise Clark advertised herself as Rockford's agent for F. C. Clark's (apparently unrelated) Tours of New York, organizing excursions to Europe. "Four of these have been arranged for next year for the Paris exposition and one is in prospect for the Mediterranean and the Orient."[50] The next month the local paper announced "two Japanese, Ishida and Kimura," were "in Rockford on invitation of Rev. E. Warren Clark" to "provide a pleasing entertainment at the State Street Baptist Church" with the familiar "stereopticon views of Japanese scenes, moving pictures, tableaux of the Mikado's court, sword dance and other features."[51]

Yet, it was also said that "one of the Japs was a lawyer and that Mr. Clark brought him here to use his best endeavor to persuade Mrs. Clark to sign certain legal papers, preliminary to a separation from his wife." While he denied the story, the hometown paper published the rumor from "a Nelson House chambermaid that his wife told him she was tired of supporting him and wanted nothing further to do with him."[52] The local newspaper reported in January 1900 that while he was in Florida, his wife "filled a bill for separate maintenance from her husband, the well known lecturer and tourist. She alleges non-support."[53] A judge "granted an injunction restraining Mr. Clark from taking the minor children from the custody of the mother."[54] The messy case continued in the local courts through November of that year, when a financial settlement and granting custody of the children to their mother settled the case.

The separation was made all the more difficult as Louise's father suffered a long painful fight with what appears to be liver cancer and died at the end of November 1900. The obituary noted that Mrs. Louise Clark was then living with her mother in town, and two years later the two women rented a remodeled home together, while she ran "the tourist agency formerly conducted by her husband."[55] In 1902, Clark sued "for divorce from his wife, Louise McCulloch Clark," in Florida and it was reported that "Mrs. Clark will make no contest." Yet in 1904, Miss Edith Clark, their eldest child, went to Tallahassee to "spend the summer with her parents, Prof. and Mrs. E. Warren Clark" which suggests some amicable relationship.[56]

Turn-of-the-Century Wanderings

Kicked out of the Illinois home, Prof. Clark returned to Florida to perform his mixed-media Christmas show, took the waters at Panacea Mineral Springs, and began attending the circuit of fairs around the country. In September 1901, he reported for the *Weekly Tallahasseean* on "Florida Day" at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, just six days after President McKinley was assassinated there. The next month, he was off to The Charleston Fair and its promotion of the New South.[57]

Each winter Clark returned to Shid-zu-oo-ka Plantation near Tallahassee, where he experimented with good works and cultivating famous men. In May 1901, he invited the Governor of Florida to a picnic as part of his "Emancipation Day" celebration with his African-American tenants (Fig 16). His views on "Caste and Color" clearly mark him as the son of an anti-slavery advocate; he even tried to create "modern style model homes for the neglected negroes in the farming districts."[58]

In the hot summers, he filled in for the rector at Saratoga,

Fig. 16. Gov. W. S. Jennings at Shidzuoka Plantation Emancipation Day (May 1901), photographed by E. Warren Clark, Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Library and Archives, rc12552.

New York, while offering lectures to paying summer hotel audiences and meeting the rich and famous. The *Rockford Register-Gazette* reported receiving an August 1903 invitation to an entertainment for Admiral George Dewey at the United States Hotel in Saratoga. The event included original photographs of sites along the homeward voyage of the *Olympia*. These, they noted, were "taken by Prof. E. Warren Clark formerly of Rockford."[59]

Depressed by his "eternal and fatal dependence on 'Bishops' . . . the ecclesiastical death of me," Clark dreamed he might get "'Congregationalized' (avoiding Bishops)" in a little New England town, "and then be transferred to the *doshisha* in Japan. I would be glad to spend my few remaining years there. Don't you often cast longing looks toward Japan?" he asked his friend. "I do."[60] Suffering from "La Grippe" during the winter of 1904, Clark found himself the guest of Mr. James M. Munyon, a Philadelphia homeopathic patent medicine magnate (Fig. 17). Buying an island on Lake Worth, West Palm Beach in 1901, Munyon built the Hotel Hygeia, named after the Greek goddess of health. It catered to ailing, wealthy Northerners who came to Palm Beach to recuperate on the tropical Island, soak in the Fountain of Youth, and drink "Dr. Munyon's Paw-Paw Elixir", a concoction apparently of fermented papaya juice, which he bottled on the island as a homeopathic antidote to everything from alcoholism to vertigo and dyspepsia.

Clark may have been a free guest at the Hotel Hygenia, but Munyon exacted a testimonial from him for his product. "Prof. E. Warren Clark, the well-known lecturer, traveler and scientist, 27 Thomas St., New York" called the Paw Paw fruit "Nature's own remedy for indigestion and nervousness."

Fig. 17. Munyon advertising card, courtesy Edward G. Miner Library, Rochester, N.Y.

"In three trips around the world," he wrote, "I have become perfectly familiar with, the medicinal virtues of this remarkable fruit. People in India could not do without it." Moreover, he had "been taking Munyon's Paw Paw with most gratifying results. The first bottle increased my appetite and cured me of sleeplessness, I am now taking it regularly, and find that my whole system is improved and strengthened. Paw Paw certainly is a wonderful aid to digestion."[61] This testimonial (Fig. 18) appeared in a Munyon advertising flyer, "There is Hope," and in dozens of newspapers across the country from December 1903 to August 1904. With the Russo–Japanese War creating greater interest in Japan, Clark once again tried to lure Griffis into joining him on another 'round-the–world trip through Japan. But, before he could arrange it, however, Munyon took Clark to Europe, all expenses paid, wanting to set Clark up as his European agent in London, Paris, or Geneva. While Clark had no interest, he did think he might write a series of Munyon Travel Guides!

Promoting Support for Japan during the Russo-Japanese War

Clark's major effort during this free trip around the European capitals was to collect images of the Russo-Japanese war to make into magic lantern slides for his last major group of lectures. As he wrote on his return trip in Sept. 1904, "I have made a SUPERB collection of War Views and reliable photographs in Europe, showing the Progress of the War, and the 'Pictorial Spirit of the European Press.' The

MUNYON'S
PAW-PAW

Prof. Clark, Well-Known Scientist, Praises Paw-Paw.

Prof. E. Warren Clark, the well-known lecturer, traveler and scientist, 27 Thomas-st., New York, writes: "Paw-Paw is Nature's own remedy for indigestion and nervousness. In three trips around the world I have become perfectly familiar with the medicinal virtues of this remarkable fruit. People in India could not do without it. I was much interested when I read that Prof. Munyon had introduced this remedy to the public, and I have been taking Munyon's Paw-Paw with most gratifying results. The first bottle increased my appetite and cured me of sleeplessness. I am now taking it regularly and find that my whole system is improved and strengthened. Paw-Paw certainly is a wonderful aid to digestion. I am telling all my friends about it and what it did for me."

If you have dyspepsia, Try it.
If you are nervous, Try it.
If you are despondent, Try it.
If you are weak and run down, Try it.
Cast away all tonics, all medicines and all stimulants and let Munyon's Paw-Paw make you well. It will lift you into the high altitudes of hope and hold you there; it will give exhilaration without intoxication.
Sold by all druggists. Large bottle, $1. Paw-Paw Laxative Pills, 25c a bottle.

Fig. 18. "Munyon's Paw Paw" advertisement with testimonial by Prof. E. Warren Clark, *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Jan. 5, 1904, p. 14.

London Graphic Illustrated, Black and White, Sphere, Cassells, and the French and German Papers are INFINITELY AHEAD of the American Press in this matter. It has taken me three months to select this splendid material, and it required five hours for me to arrange and systemize the pictures and most a day according to the plan I have laid out. This war is not of mere ephemeral interest, but is a Lesson to all Nations of what awful results the implements of Modern warfare can accomplish. And who would have thought the insignificant Japs would have been FIRST to demonstrate it." [62]

If the war continues, he wrote Griff from his ocean liner, "I'd be willing to go to Manchuria itself with a Bioscope Camera and at great risk obtain Motion Pictures of the actual conflict. The Warwick Cenetograph Co. of London are negotiating with me for this end." Meanwhile, " I am going to make Slides of these splendid Pictures."[63]

Upon returning to the United States, Clark visited his native Portsmouth and then settled in New York City, because he received an urgent appeal from Japan to raise funds for the Japanese widows and orphans created by the Asian war. By December 1904, he had pulled together a group of prominent American religious leaders under the nominal chairmanship of the former Columbia University president and past mayor of New York, Seth Low, to lend their names to a new "Japan Relief Fund." The New York *Sun* quoted the "Rev. E. Warren Clark, treasurer" of what had now become "the Young People's Relief Fund" for the suffering and orphaned children of Japan. "In the town of Sendai, a place, I suppose, of some 60,000 inhabitants, there were 2,000 families made destitute by the war. The same proportion holds good all over the country. No matter how great the exertions of the Japanese charitable societies and the Japanese authorities, it is impossible to keep up with this rising tide of misery."[64]

In December, Clark began writing a small book titled *Katz Awa, the Bismarck of Japan,* about the founder of the modern Japanese Navy (Fig. 19). He wrote all 94 pages in six days, drawing on a rediscovered "historical gold mine in the personal sketch of his life, a translation of which Katz presented me in 1896 [*sic*] in Tokio" which *Harpers* had turned down a decade ago.[65] His little book was well received by critics, perhaps because its story paralleled a popular (but mostly fabricated) 1903 "biography" of *John Paul Jones; Founder of the American Navy* by Augustus C. Buell. Published before the end of the year by B. F. Buck & Co., the sales were to benefit a separate "Katz Awa" charitable fund, often called the "little fund" to differentiate it from the larger relief effort. "In the first six weeks." he wrote Griff that "we have sold 9,836 copies of *Katz Awa*, and have taken in, in cash, over $3,442.60."[66] Every cent was donated to the cause, as was over six months of Clark's unpaid time.

(Photographed by the Author.)
KATZ AWA AND IYESATO TOKUGAWA IN GATEWAY OF GARDEN—KATZ ON THE RIGHT.

Fig. 19. "Katz Awa and Iyesato Tokugawa in gateway of Garden." Photograph by E. Warren Clark, frontispiece, *Katz Awa*.

An appeal for the big fund was sent to 33,000 churches and Sunday schools across the country in the two weeks before Christmas. A second appeal, also offering the book as a premium, went out to churches across the land just before Easter. Money was to be mailed to the publisher, "but where checks, money orders or remittances independent of the booklet are sent, every Dollar goes to the Orphan Fund in Japan." While this appeal was often reprinted in local newspapers, in Steven's Point, Wisconsin, the editor noted: "Mr. Clark was formerly a frequent visitor in the city and married Miss … McCulloch. Though the possessor of a brilliant mind, his life was embittered by an erratic temperament and it is unlikely that the people of this city would show enthusiasm over any project promoted by him**."**[67]

In February, Clark received a letter from Mrs. Clara Whitney Kaji (wife of Kata Awa's son), who subsequently recommended him for a lecture at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science, with "Tableaux-Vivante, war pictures and Bioscope Motion-Pictures, which I have from London." His title was "From Shidz-u-o-ka Feudalism to the Fall of Port Arthur," but, as he told Griff, "I am 'Long' on War views but short on Feudalism. Mrs. Kaji is to loan me a few Tokio Castle Colored Views, and I wondered if I could get about six of your "old time" views, simply for that one night?"[68] His "special illustrated lecture" on "Japan and Her Fight for Life and Humanity" occurred on March 16, 1905 (Fig. 20). He earned $254.45 from it and told Griff he soon hoped to "return the slides you kindly sent me. . . If I had given this winter to Lectures, instead of this enormous amount of hard GRATUITOUS WORK on the two "Relief Funds," I could have made money. But I have sacrificed several hundred dollars of my Florida interests in order to do this work, and am living upstairs in a little 15-foot room, in the fifth story, while doing all this work."[69]

Fig. 20. Views 5-8 of a standard set of Russo-Japanese War magic lantern slides. Clark's own slides have not been located.

Scandal

It was not the money he lost by staying in New York that bothered Clark about this campaign. "The thing that worries me the most," he wrote in early May, "is the underhand conduct of this man 'BUCK' who, you know I personally introduced to Dr. Hall and the Committee, and yet whom Larry Chittenden (who is here now) and first introduced Buck to me, WARNED me against continually, as the very polite but but insatiable 'Prince of the Grafters. Such, indeed, is he proving to be."[70] Clark met Buck through Chittenden, a Texas-based "poet cowboy" then in New York. And it was Buck's publishing company that produced *Katz Awa* as a fund-raiser for Clark. However, since charitable donations to both the Katz Awa fund and the larger relief fund went to Buck, people began to criticize Clark for being listed as Auditor and Treasurer when "not a dollar of which for four months was I able to see or control." Worse, "nearly Four Thousand Dollars of which went into Buck's private Bank Account." Buck ignored his fiscal questions for two months, until Clark threatened to go to the District Attorney. Only then "did Buck run to his Lawyer…and turn over to me the little he had left." This was $389.98 plus some 10,000 unbound copies of *Katz Awa*.[71]

Then, having looted the Katz Awa Fund, "he turned to the 'Big Fund' – dropped my name from the secretaryship of the Executive Committee, substituting his own instead, got [George] Southard of the Franklin Trust Co" where the funds were held "into the same trap he got me by being "auditor and Treasurer" . . . and got "Southard to pay his (Buck's) big Bills without any outside auditor and of course without me knowing anything about it. This is the GAME I have just written Seth Low must be investigated."[72] His concerns soon found their way into the New York *Sun*.

On June 16, 1905 The *Sun* headline screamed "JAP RELIEF FUND FRICTION." His public threats to expose Buck's embezzlement led to counterattacks. When the controversy caused members of the financial and auditing committee to withdraw the use of their names, Consul General Uchida went to the police to open an investigation. Soon, process servers were after Clark. A theatrical agent sued over a canceled benefit, and a printer wanted "$200 for printing some of the circulars the clergyman has been sending out for months past regarding his Japanese Orphan Relief Fund and also for printing several thousand copies of his book *Katz Awa*"—despite Buck being the publisher. *The Sun* published a devastating front-page story where Buck spun his version of events. The New York *Tribune* called Clark the "fleeing philanthropist."[73]

When Clark returned from a brief getaway at the Jersey shore home of poet Larry Chittenden (suspiciously ahead of the process servers), he opened his bankbook for *The Sun* "to show that all the money be ever got for the fund was $886.38, of which he says about $500 was sent to Japan."[74] This very public front-page controversy throughout July made Clark anathema to Japanese officials, then negotiating with President Roosevelt to hold a peace conference to possibly end the Russo-Japanese War. When Clark sent him an inscribed copy of *Katz Awa*, Ambassador "Sato said he would pay no attention to the communication. He added that last December Mr. Clark asked him for the autograph of the Emperor and that he refused to give it to him, fearing

that it would be used as an endorsement of the benefit scheme."[75] Chittenden told him, " See what 'GRATITUDE' you get? You have worked six months like the devil, living on scarcely two meals a day, . . . and now the big grafter (Buck) who has made off with hundreds of dollars charges YOU with embezzlement!"[76]

Clark realized that Buck was cleverly "hiding his pretended accounts (using Southard & myself as 'cats paws') & turning suspicion & public scandal upon me!!" However, when Clark approached the district attorney about suing the *Sun* for libel he was told it would be very hard to win. While the article was undoubtedly malicious, it wasn't criminal; "the *Sun* has been sued so often, they come just inside the law." While the newspaper printed a partial retraction, he hoped the State of New York would indict and try Buck, as the "Law is too expensive." [77] It never did.

The Portsmouth Peace Conference

In July, he learned "from Mrs. Helen C. KNIGHT of my native town of PORTSMOUTH, N.H. . . . that the PEACE CONFERENCE would really be held there." "I expect to go to Portsmouth next week," he wrote Griff August 2 from Chittenden's New Jersey shore home; "Are you coming? . . . I could meet you in my old birthplace." [78]

"I gave an address on "Japan" in the old North Church (Congl.), Father's old church, in Portsmouth last Fall" Clark said, "which was well received."[79] Initially, he planned to take his "War Pictures there this summer" and "I have written Mrs. Knight to get the church for me one or two nights during the convention. But my effort at the Conference will still be for the BENEFIT of the ORPHAN RELIEF FUND." As it turned out, "I did not bring my War Lectures to Portsmouth," he wrote Griff, "as it would have appeared too partial & of 'favoritism' while the Russians (with whom I greatly sympathize) are on neutral territory." [80]

"I am stopping with my dear old friend Mrs. H. C. Knight, who is 91 years old," he wrote several days later. Mrs. Knight was the recipient of some of Clark's earliest letters from Japan that she scattered throughout 1873 in *The Child's Paper*, a New York religious monthly published by the American Tract Society, to which Clark had earlier contributed while he was in Europe. Knight served as that paper's long-distance editor for 25 years, all the time living as a widow in Portsmouth.[81] It is, indeed, possible that she may have recommended that he recycle his many letters from Japan and that the Society publish the returning Clark's memoir of Japan in 1877 and its successor volume on his return. The 1870 U.S. Census for Portsmouth lists not only Mrs. Knight at her Islington Street home, but Edward's oldest brother, the Rev. Rufus W. Clark (then Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church) as her boarder! Indeed, Clark ended his first "Round the World" trip back from Japan in 1875 at Portsmouth.

In 1905 Clark arrived at Mrs. Knight's a day or more before the peace delegates arrived, for he "saw Komura as he came up in the launch from the [USS] *Mayflower*" on August 8. He "recognized him immediately" as his carriage passed by in the parade, but told Griffis he had "changed much in appearance since I used to see him daily in the class." Clark also "photographed" Komura that first day "as he entered the Court House at Portsmouth with Takihira," another of his former students.[82] A Rockford, Illinois newspaper reported the Portsmouth activities of its former resident, telling its readers, "Clark Taught Baron Komura . . . Peace Envoy then a Lad." They quoted Clark about services in Christ Church with the Russian delegation on August 13, noting the collection was "something new for them . . . and sitting in the front pews was a little embarrassing for several members of the party." [83] The next day Clark was awaiting the arrival of Methodist minister "Mr. Y. Honda, Bishop Harris' assistant" in Tokyo returning from an international Y. M. C. A. Conference in Paris. It was he "who wrote the original letter of appeal sent out from Mr. Buck's office" and he hoped Honda might help get the district attorney to indict Buck.

Later that week, Mrs. Knight, the oldest woman in the city, hosted her houseguest Clark and two Japanese visitors, the Rev. Y. Honda and Yasujiro Ishikawa, editor of the *Hochi Shimbun*, for supper. She served expensive Japanese tea that had been sent from Shidzuoka as a present from Clark nearly 30 years ago in 1871, that she "still had on hand. This 'Shidzuoka tea' was served in Japanese style, from a Japanese teapot and the Tokio guests pronounced it the genuine article, having lost but little of its flavor by being kept a full generation in a Portsmouth climate." While reported as merely a pleasant "tea party" this may actually have been more of a strategy session over the relief funds and the message of the peace conference. [84]

On Sunday evening members of the Japanese delegation attended Episcopal services where they, too, were given seats in the front row. After the service, Clark greeted Minister Takahira. As they shook hands "for the first time in 27 years," he asked "if he remembered when he was his student" at the Imperial University in Tokyo. Takihira "replied in the affirmative. But he is feeble, walks with a cane, and has aged more than his former instructor; who left Portsmouth as an infant, the year (1854) that Perry 'opened' Japan." Clark said authoritatively that after the conference was done Komura would be made a Count and Takahira a Baron for their service. [85]

That week, a William E. Griffis essay, "First Envoy to Japan," appeared in the *New York Times*. He reminded readers that in 1832 Portsmouth resident Edmund Roberts was the first diplomat America sent to Japan. He died in China before reaching Japan, but he was memorialized in the first stained glass window added to St. John's Episcopal Church in 1885 by a bequest of Mrs. Anna F. P. Pruyn (1840-1909)

of Albany, NY. [It was Mary Putnam Pruyn (1820-1885), author of *Grandmother's Letters from Japan* (Boston: 1877), who ran the American Mission Home in Yokohama for whom Clark did a benefit performance. She is seen in front of her mission where the two reunited in the 1870s (Fig. 21)]. While Griffis predicted "the Japanese envoys will doubtless visit St. John's Church, so rich in Oriental mementos, to look upon the noble stained glass window in memory of this first ambassador accredited to Japan," it was actually the Russian delegates who listened to Clark preach at St. John's Church on Sunday August 27, 1905. [86]

Later that week Clark went out to the Wentworth Hotel in New Castle, where the delegates stayed, to speak with the Japanese. "Komura looked pale and thin, but grim & determined, as if a breath would blow him away," he said. "The Japs were in a panic that fatal afternoon, when the order came from Tokio to 'make peace' on any terms. The Japs cried! & I sat by Ishikawa as he wrote a 6-page letter to Baron Komura (upstairs at the Wentworth) begging him to 'resign' --rather than 'capitulate'!" He also told Griff that Komura remembered him and said "with a funny smile, 'Mr. Clark taught us inorganic chemistry, & electricity' and 'Mr. Griffis taught organic chemistry & Law,' & then he laughed outright at the queer mixture of subjects." [87]

Green Acre: Clark and Sarah Farmer

During that crucial waiting period, filled with back channel and informal diplomacy, that led up to the resolution of the last issues, Clark introduced some Japanese diplomats and newspapermen to Green Acre, Miss Sarah Farmer's spiritual retreat in Eliot, Maine. Here a huge "PEACE" flag flew along the river, so large that it could be seen from the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard.

On Thursday August 31, at the conclusion of closing exercises, three "stirring addresses" celebrated the recently agreed upon terms of peace. Here diplomat Takahira gave his first public utterance about the concluded peace negotiations in a "short but fervent address." His remarks were followed by editor Ishikawa, who paid a graceful tribute for President Roosevelt as the "greatest peacemaker" of modern times. "He dwelt on the sacrificing character of the Japanese women, who had sent their husbands and sons off to war, without a murmur. [88]

Then, Rev. E. Warren Clark was warmly thanked for his successful efforts in bringing the Japanese to Green Acre**.** "He showed that Japan had fought the fight of humanity for the Russian peasantry and for the oppressed Jews, as well as for herself" and "we should add to our applause for Japan's costly sacrifice, the practical aid and sympathy that will help her now to care for the thousands of widows and orphans of her soldiers killed in the war." He encouraged the audience to respond "to appeals recently sent out by Christian workers in

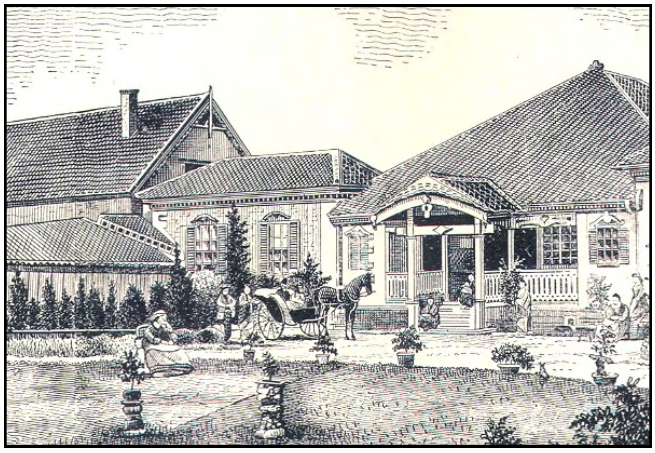


Fig. 21. Detail from Clark photograph of the "American Mission Home" in Tokyo. Mrs. Pruyn is seated at center left. *Life and Adventures in Japan* (1878) p. 220.

Japan, in behalf of the destitute families of the slain, and by helping those who are suffering in silence, the widows and orphans, in the land of the Rising Sun." On Sunday September 10, a final peace celebration was held at Green Acre where Clark again spoke "of the widows and orphans of the island empire and told of the proposed plan of Bishop Harris to collect funds in this country for their relief." "In response" the audience" adopted a unanimous (standing) vote" to give a "Christian Peace offering for the destitute families killed in the war." [89]

After the Peace Conference

After the conference ended and everyone had gone home, the *New York Herald* reported guests to The Old Perry Home at Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island, included "Mr. E. Warren Clark, of Florida … and Mr. F. Ishikawa, an editor from Tokio, Japan." The two men "were at Greene's Inn early in the week... to visit the birthplace of Commodore M. C. Perry, who opened the ports of Japan."[90] E. Warren Clark, tour leader extraordinary!

He returned to Shidzuoka Plantation in Florida, where in November 1905, he welcomed a Japanese family that the *Tallahassee Democrat* reported had "arrived here last week to settle on the plantation of Rev. E. Warren Clark." Clark also sold or gave away copies of *Katz Awa* to visitors who made the trek out from Tallahassee. At least, this is suggested by an inscribed copy by an unknown buyer, dated November 19, 1905: "Clark lives in the woods 7 miles north of Tallahassee. We visited him there yesterday 11/9/1905. He is an erratic genius."[91]

The judgment seems to have been widespread. Even his critics said he was "the possessor of a brilliant mind" but, as

Chittenden described him, "erratic and eccentric." Griffis later recalled him as, "a delightful companion in travel and an interesting man full of initiative and enthusiasm, an eager and persevering but seemingly erratic and changeful–all, I believe, of the nervous strain suffered by and from his ocular troubles." [92]

He died on June 5, 1907 of tuberculosis, only 58 years old, in Kingston, New York, where "he had gone to regain his health. He was a brother of Rev. Rufus W. Clark, formerly rector of old St. John's Church, who went to Kingston to take charge of the body, the burial being in Albany in the family plot." [93]

Brought low by ill-health and divorce, financial insecurity, and an undeserved media scandal, E. Warren Clark was brilliant but, as the Steven's Point editor said, "embittered by his erratic temperament."[94] As a Christian evangelist, popular speaker, and lanternist, he devoted the greater part of his extraordinary life to building a bridge between his American countrymen and the Japanese people.

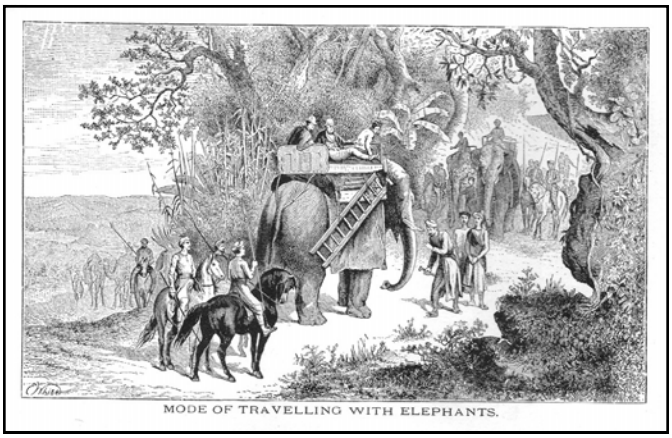


Fig. 22. Illustration taken from Clark's 1875 photograph, "Elephants Traveling." *From Hong Kong to the Himalayas* (1880), p. 297.

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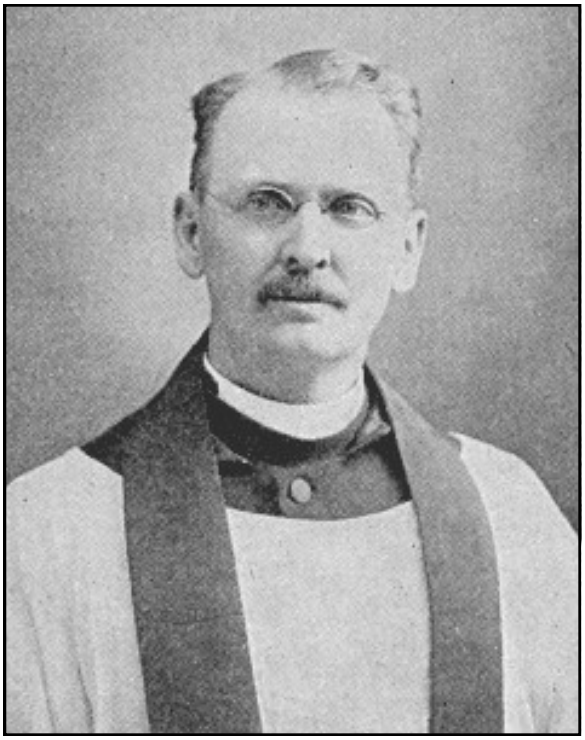
Richard M. Candee, Professor *Emeritus* of American and New England Studies at Boston University, directed the Preservation Studies Program for nearly 30 years. He has published nearly a hundred articles, essays, chapters, and reviews as well as *Atlantic Heights: A World War I Shipbuilder's Community* (1985), *Building Portsmouth: The Neighborhoods and Architecture of New Hampshire's Oldest City* (1992), and *Wallace Nutting's Portsmouth: Photographing the "Colonial Past" 1908-1918* (2007). He is President of the Portsmouth Historical Society, mounting exhibits at the Discover Portsmouth Center and at the Portsmouth Athenaeum of local artists Thomas P. Moses, Harry M. S. Harlow, and Russell Cheney, as well as a 2011 exhibit, "Maritime Portsmouth: the Sawtelle Collection."



Rev. E. Warren Clark (1849-1907)

The Research Page provides short summaries of scholarly research articles related to magic lantern history in a variety of disciplines.

Michelle Lamunière. 2012. Sentiment as moral motivator: from Jacob Riis's lantern slide presentations to Harvard University's Social Museum. *History of Photography* 36:137-155.

In this article, the author compares and contrasts the work of two late 19th and early 20th century social reformers who apparently did not know each other and who used very different approaches in the fight against poverty. Jacob Riis, a police reporter and amateur photographer in New York, roamed through the slums taking candid flash photographs of impoverished slum dwellers. Some of these photographs appeared in books published by Riis, most famously *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). He also used the photographs as lantern slides in lectures delivered in churches and other venues. His lantern slide lectures emphasized the "otherness" of slum dwellers compared to his middle-class audiences. The author argues that Riis relied on "the exploitation of sentiment as a strategic device to provoke extreme emotional reactions that would dramatize social problems and coerce the his middle-class audiences to contribute funds toward their eradication" (p. 142). The author gives an accurate summary of Riis's lantern slide lectures, and a couple of slides from the Jacob Riis Collection at the Museum of the City of New York illustrate the article. Her account is less detailed, however, than an earlier book by Bonnie Yochelson and Daniel J. Czitrom, *Rediscovering Jacob Riis: Exposure Journalism and Photography in Turn-of-the-century New York* (2008), previously reviewed in *The Magic Lantern Gazette.* The work of Francis Greenwood Peabody, founder of the Social Museum at Harvard, was very different from Riis's. Peabody also made use of photographs in his museum, but these pictures focused more on reform efforts to make the lives of the poor more bearable, and less on the squalid conditions of slum life. Peabody was a great believer in the new field of Sociology and was convinced that scientific study of social problems, accompanied by quantitative analyses and graphs, held the key to social reform in America. He therefore rejected the more sentimental and sensational approach of Riis's lantern slide lectures.

Margaret Denny. 2012. Catherine Weed Barnes Ward: advocate for Victorian women photographers. *History of Photography* 36:156-171.

In an era when nearly every person in America can take photographs with everything from a cell phone to a professional camera, it is hard to imagine a time when the suitability of photography as a pastime for women was even debated. Yet until relatively late in the 19th century, women photographers were relatively rare, even among amateurs. Furthermore, activities in amateur photographic clubs and societies tended to be segregated by gender. Some clubs excluded women altogether, while others allowed women in a sort of "women's auxiliary" status, and often awarded separate prizes to photographs taken by men and women. Of course, use of the same darkroom by men and women was out of the question. This article describes the photographic career of Catherine Weed Barnes Ward, an upper-class woman who became a leading advocate for women photographers in both the United States and Britain. She achieved top status among amateur photographers, becoming an editor of *The American Amateur Photographer*, and contributing articles on women and photography to many other magazines. She also embarked on a lecture tour, giving lectures illustrated with lantern slides to describe the opportunities for women in photography. Initially her lectures were given mostly to photographic clubs and societies, but eventually, she reached a broader public and introduced lower-class women to amateur photography. She also traveled to Europe, spending considerable time in England and Scotland, and eventually living there with her husband. There she continued her crusade to make photography more accessible to women of all classes. She also took many photographs of England and Scotland and gave travel lectures using lantern slides made from her own photographs. Later she and her husband, photographer and publisher Henry Snowden Ward, produced several travel books richly illustrated with her own photographs, including *Shakespeare's Town and Times* (1901). Overall, this article provides a fascinating portrait of an important advocate for women photographers in the early period of amateur photography.

Kerry McCarthy, Jacky Bowring, and Bryan Storey. 2011. A working man in Wonderland: Ernest Joyce, photographs and Antarctic exploration. *The Polar Journal* 1:155-175.

The focus of this article is a collection of 150 lantern slides, plus some negatives, now housed in the Canterbury Museum in New Zealand. The slides were owned by Ernest Joyce, although not all were taken by him. He was a minor figure in Antarctic exploration, who accompanied three famous explorers on expeditions: Scott, Shackleton, and Ross. Joyce was a common British seaman, assigned to tasks such as handling supplies and attending to sled dogs. In later life, he wrote articles for newspapers and gave some illustrated lectures on Antarctica, often billing himself as a record holder for Antarctic exploration because he participated in three expeditions. Yet he ended up working for part of his life as an elevator operator in a hotel. Joyce was an amateur photographer, and his slides lack the professional and artistic qualities of the pictures made by more famous professional photographers. A number of his slides appear in the article, and the authors use these images to discuss the role of amateur photographers, the barriers of class that prevented Joyce from becoming accepted as a leading Antarctic explorer, and his quest to gain some recognition through his writing of popular articles and presentation of lantern slide lectures.

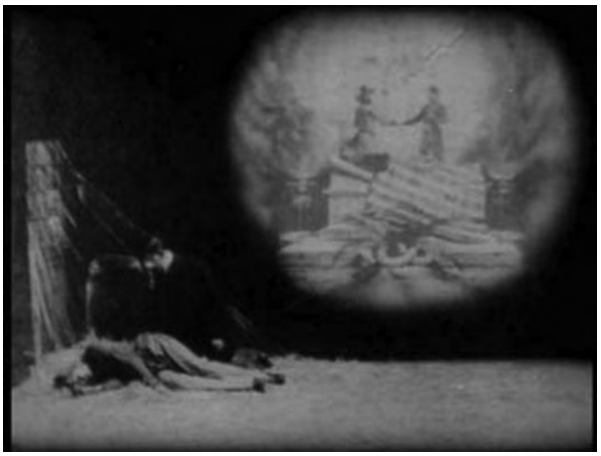
Simone Natale. 2012. A short history of superimposition: from spirit photography to early cinema. *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10:125-145.

The author of this article takes as a starting point the use of special effects in early films to represent apparitions of ghosts, fairies, devils, and angels. He relates this type of film making to the 19th century vogue for spirit photography, and in particular, the commercial exploitation of spirit photographs produced by double exposures of photographs. He argues that this commercial use of spirit photographs suggests that interest in such photographs extended beyond those who actually believed in spirits. He also discusses the way in which many stage magicians popularized spirit photography, in part by debunking them and demonstrating the way in which they were made. Indeed, handbooks of photography and magic provided detailed directions for making spirit photographs. Finally the author describes the use of spirit photographs in a magic lantern show, thereby forging a link between projected images of the magic lantern and those of the cinema.

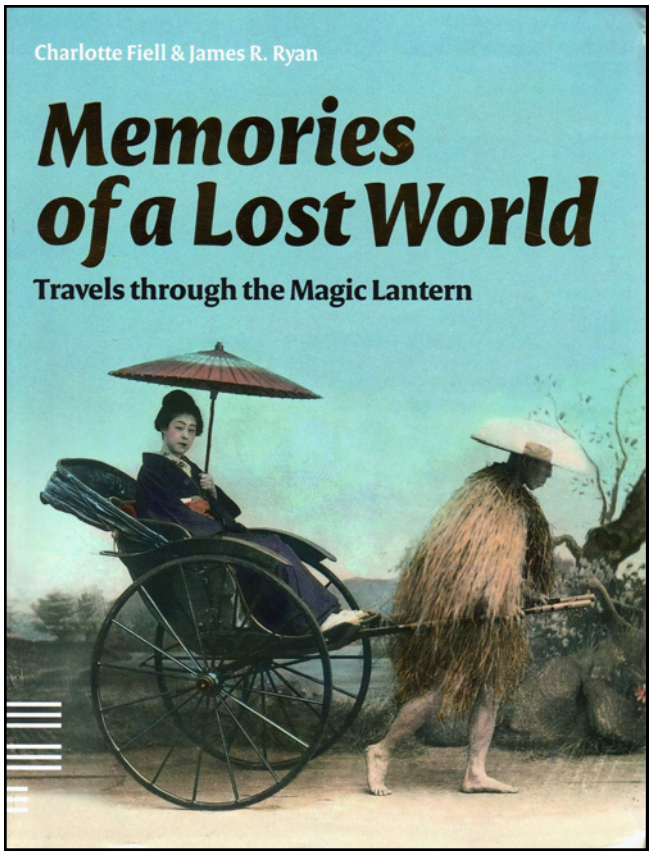
The article points out that magic lantern showmen developed various tricks for superimposing images long before spirit photography became popular. Dissolving views allowed angels to hover over the images of dying children, or enabled viewers to envision a soldier on a distant battlefield dreaming of his wife. He also mentions the earlier development of the phantasmagoria, as well as Pepper's ghost, which is somewhat inaccurately described as combining real actors with projected images (in fact, the images were reflected on glass, rather than being projected from a slide, and also involved a live actor). An example of a spiritualist ceremony in 1882 involving projection of spirit photographs with a magic lantern is described in some detail. The show took place at a meeting of British spiritualists, and the hall was packed to capacity. A Mr. Middleton operated the lantern and projected the slides, which were accompanied by piano music and explanatory remarks by James Burns, editor of the spiritualist journal *Medium and Daybreak.* The show included slides illustrating the history of spiritualism, as well as slides purporting to represent supernatural phenomena that science could not explain. Most of the slides were spirit photograph taken by Frederick Hudson and the American spirit photographer William Mumler, who was once tried for fraud, but acquitted. The account of the magic lantern show published at the time suggested that many of the viewers actually believed the show was a mystical event, although this view was colored by the fact that the account was published in a spiritualist periodical. The author sees a connection between this type of entertainment, presented to a paying audience of avowed spiritualists, and the emergence of early trick films. These included the films of George Méliès, who had been a professional magician, and George Albert Smith, who had started his career as a showman before the advent of cinema. Smith even produced a film in 1898, now unfortunately lost, entitled *Photographing a Ghost.*

Philip Maciak. 2012. Spectacular realism: The ghost of Jesus Christ in D. W. Griffith's vision of history. *Adaptation* (advanced online access published May 13, 2012; doi: 10.1093/adapatation/aps013), pp. 1-22.

D. W. Griffith's classic film *Birth of a Nation* ends with a curious scene in which a ghost-like image of a Jesus appears. The author argues that most scholars have paid scant attention to this final scene and have failed to appreciate its function in the film and its connections to spirit photography. The image of Jesus was, of course, produced by double exposure, as were popular spirit photographs. The paper discusses at some length the nature of Griffith's vision of realism and the depiction of historical events in film. Some of the paper is quite theoretical, but contains a lot of interesting material. The author links the scene in Griffith's film not only to spirit photography, but to the earlier tradition of dissolving views in magic lantern shows. He also refers to scenes in a 1903 film of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which include magic-lantern-like projections of images in the background of a filmed scene.



Top: The ghost of Jesus in *Birth of a Nation* (1915). **Bottom:** Magic-lantern-like projection in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903). From Maciak, p. 2 and p. 17.



Charlotte Fiell and James R. Ryan. 2012. *Memories of a Lost World. Travels Through the Magic Lantern.* Fiell Publishing, London. ISBN 978-1-906863-07-4. 674 pp. $45.00 (softcover).

Any magic lantern collector with even a passing interest in photographic lantern slides should buy this book. The book has been long anticipated, having been announced in various venues about a year and a half before it was actually printed. The first author, Charlotte Fiell, runs a publishing company that specializes in design and architecture and which also published this book. James R. Ryan is a Professor at the University of Exeter. Together they have produced an encyclopedic visual compendium of photographic lantern slides that highlights both their historical significance and artistic quality.

The book is made for visual browsing and actually has very little text. There is a short introduction to the history of the magic lantern by Fiell, who consulted with several members of the Magic Lantern Society in Britain. Then there is a short discussion by Ryan of the cultural and artistic significance of photographic travel slides. Both of these chapters are presented in English, German, and French, as are all of the picture captions. You will want to skim through the pages in German and French, because they include some illustrations of lantern slides and ephemera associated with the magic lantern that do not appear in the English section.

After these introductory essays, there are more than 600 pages of carefully selected lantern slides, beautifully reproduced at sizes larger than the original slides, usually one slide to a page, but sometimes in a double-page spread for a single slide. The slides have been expertly scanned or photographed and retouched to eliminate any scratches and cracks. There are many black and white slides, some of which are so sharp that they could have been taken with a modern digital camera. Others are delicately hand-colored, and some are true works of art. Some of the pictures, such as those produced by the Keystone View Company, will be familiar to many readers, but most have never been published before. There are no bad slides in the collection, and some are real gems. Some of my favorites include a double-page spread on pp. 8-9 of a group of Japanese women painting paper parasols, so carefully colored that it could be a watercolor painting; a wonderful photo on pp. 126-127 of a group of bewhiskered Yeomen Warders (Beefeaters) at the Tower of London; a superbly colored photo of German men partaking of mineral water at a spa in Wiesbaden on p. 158; a striking black-and-white portrait of an Egyptian Bedouin in the 1860s on p. 330; and an incredible colored portrait of a Japanese woman in a traditional kimono, matted as a round image that makes it look like a painted porcelain plate (p. 477).

So do the lantern slides in this book present a true picture of the world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? Yes and no. Certainly the pictures represent real people and real places, although some are posed in studios, especially the slides of Japan. In most cases, the anonymous subjects are made to look their best; there are few truly unattractive people here. The same is true of pictures of places, which are heavy on beautiful churches, quaint villages, and ancient ruins. The coverage is worldwide, with slides arranged by continents, including Antarctica. Yet as the book's title suggest, looking at these images is largely an exercise in nostalgia; they represent the world as we wish it had been, not necessarily as it was. One would never guess from looking at these photographs that the period covered was one of the bloodiest in human history, punctuated by wars from the American Civil War to the Franco-Prussian War, the Spanish American War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, and the dreadful carnage of World War I. There are no columns of marching soldiers, no dead and dying men, no ruined cities, no machinery of war. Even the Industrial Revolution makes only a cameo appearance. One might get the impression that industry developed mostly in Germany and the United States—there are pictures of German iron works and American textile mills, occasional railroads and automobiles, a scene of oil-drilling rigs in California. Yet many of the photographs of China, Japan, India, and even Europe could just as well have been taken in the 18th as in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the overall effect is one of taking a wonderful tour through images of a lost world.—**The Editor**.

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